

## Message Text

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FOR CARTER FROM PA

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (VANCE)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HEREWITH FULL TEXT WASHINGTON POST ARTICLE BY MURREY  
MARDER, FRIDAY, MAY 5, HEADED "MISSILE, BOMBER LIMIT  
ACCORD TENTATIVELY REACHED."

2. THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION HAVE AGREED  
TENTATIVELY TO LIMIT THEIR ARSENALS OF INTERCONTINENTAL  
MISSILES AND BOMBERS TO A LEVEL 6 PER CENT LOWER THAN  
THE TARGET CEILING SET FOUR YEARS AGO, FROM 2,400 ON  
EACH SIDE TO 2,250.

3. THIS IS LESS THAN THE 10 PER CENT CUT-BACK THE  
UNITED STATES SINCE 1976 HAS SOUGHT AS A MINIMUM REDUC-  
TION IN FORCE LEVELS. BUT IT WOULD REQUIRE A REDUC-  
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TION OF ABOUT 250 IN EXISTING NUMBERS OF SOVIET LONG-  
RANGE MISSILES AND STRATEGIC BOMBERS, AND NO CUT-BACKS  
FOR THE UNITED STATES, WHICH IS BELOW THE CEILING.

4. THE TWO NATIONS ALSO HAVE AGREED TENTATIVELY TO AN  
AMERICAN-PROPOSED SUB-LIMIT OF 1,200 ON MISSILES WITH  
MULTIPLE WARHEADS. THIS WOULD PERMIT THE UNITED STATES

TO DEPLOY WITHOUT PENALTY I20 B-52 BOMBERS OR OTHER

AIRCRAFT, ARMED WITH LONG-RANGE CRUISE MISSILES, IN WHICH THE UNITED STATES HAS A TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANTAGE.

5. THESE IMPORTANT--BUT LIMITED--STEPS FORWARD IN THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS (SALT) WERE CONFIRMED YES-DAY BY ADMINISTRATION SOURCES. IN TERMS OF THE TOTALITY OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, THIS TRADE-OFF BETWEEN AMERICAN AND SOVIET DEMANDS RESOLVES SEVERAL OF THE LEAST CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES BLOCKING CONCLUSION OF A NEW PACT TO LIMIT OFFENSIVE STRATEGIC WEAPONS UNTIL 1985.

6. MORE DIFFICULT OBSTACLES MUST BE OVERCOME BEFORE THERE CAN BE A SUMMIT MEETING BETWEEN PRESIDENT CARTER AND SOVIET PRESIDENT LEONID I. BREZHNEV TO PUT THE FINAL SEAL ON A SALT II AGREEMENT.

7. THE INITIAL DISCLOSURE OF THE LATEST FORWARD MOVEMENT WAS MADE YESTERDAY BY THE NEW YORK TIMES. NUMEROUS ADMINISTRATION SOURCES COMPLAINED IN PRIVATE THAT THE FORM OF THE DISCLOSURE IMPLIED THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD MADE MOST OF THE CONCESSIONS TO PRODUCE THE ADVANCE, WHICH THEY STRONGLY DIPUTED.

8. "THEIR (THE SOVIET) PROGRAM IS PINCHED MORE THAN UNCLASSIFIED

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OURS--AND PINCHED IN SIGNIFICANT WAYS," SAID ONE ADMINISTRATION SOURCE. THAT CLAIM, IN TURN, HOWEVER, WAS QUESTIONED BY AT LEAST ONE LEADING CRITIC OF ADMINISTRATION NEGOTIATING STRATEGY, PAUL NITZE, FORMER DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE.

9. NITZE CONTENDED, AND NUMEROUS ADMINISTRATION SPECIALISTS STRONGLY DISAGREED, THAT "THE DEAL IS LOOKING LESS AND LESS GOOD" FOR THE UNITED STATES. ON THE CONTRARY, OTHERS CONTENDED, THE UNITED STATES IS EDGING TOWARD ITS GOALS.

10. THE NEWEST DISPUTE DEMONSTRATED THE HIGHLY CONTROVERSIAL NATURE OF THE EXTREMELY COMPLEX NUCLEAR BARGAINING THAT HAS BEEN UNDER WAY SINCE THE SALT I ACCORDS OF 1972. THE POTENTIAL TREATY WOULD REPLACE THE LIMITATIONS ON AMERICAN-SOVIET OFFENSIVE STRATEGIC MISSILES THAT RAN OUT LAST OCTOBER, AND WHICH BOTH SIDES ARE HONORING PENDING A NEW AGREEMENT.

11. ADMINISTRATION CIVILIAN ADVOCATES OF NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL INDICATED THAT THEY WERE QUITE PLEASED WITH THE

LATEST STEP FORWARD, WHICH RESULTS FROM SECRETARY OF STATE CYRUS R. VANCE'S TALKS IN THE KREMLIN LAST MONTH. MILITARY SPECIALISTS IN THE PENTAGON ARE LESS PLEASED;

THEY SOUGHT A LARGER CUT-BACK IN SOVIET NUCLEAR WEAPONRY.

12. BOTH FACTIONS AGREE, HOWEVER, THAT THE THORNIEST ISSUES ARE STILL AHEAD. THEY INCLUDE LIMITATIONS ON DEPLOYING NEW MISSILE SYSTEMS, WITH THE SOVIET UNION PRESSING HARD FOR AN EXEMPTION TO ALLOW IT A MAJOR NEW TYPE OF MISSILE; BASIC DISAGREEMENT ON LIMITING THE SOVIET BOMBERS KNOWN AS BACKFIRE; DISAGREEMENT ON MEASURING CRUISE MISSILE RANGES, AND ON THE DURATION  
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OF SOME OF THE LIMITATIONS IN A TREATY PROTOCOL.

13. UNDER THE TERMS FOR A SALT II ACCORD WHICH WERE OUTLINED IN 1974 BETWEEN FORMER PRESIDENT FORD AND BREZHNEV AT VLADIVOSTOK, STRATEGIC ARMS CEILINGS WERE PROJECTED AT 2,400 NUCLEAR LAUNCHERS ON EACH SIDE-- MISSILES AND BOMBERS COMBINED--WITH A LIMIT OF 1,320 FOR ALL WEAPONS CARRYING MULTIPLE WARHEADS.

14. THE LATTER LIMIT, 1,320, STILL HOLDS IN THE CURRENT BARGAINING.

15. FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY A. KISSINGER IN EARLY 1976 CAME WITHIN SIGHT OF AN ACCORD WHICH, AMONG OTHER THINGS, WOULD HAVE CUT THE TOTAL ARMS LEVELS ON EACH SIDE BY ABOUT 10 PER CENT, BUT KISSINGER WAS BLOCKED FROM COMPLETING THE DEAL.

16. THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION, SEEKING DEEPER CUTS, IN MARCH, 1977, PROPOSED A FORCE CUT TO 2,160 BY 1980; THE SOVIET UNION COUNTERPROPOSED A LEVEL OF 2,250 BY 1982.

17. IT IS THE SOVIET FIGURE THAT HAS PREVAILED, IN ONE SENSE, BUT NOT IN ANOTHER. THE OVERALL FIGURE NOW TENTATIVELY SET WOULD BE AS THE SOVIET UNION WANTED, 2,250. BUT THE ARMS PACKAGE CEILINGS HAVE HAD A SERIES OF SUB-LIMITS ADDED TO THEM, AND THE SOVIET UNION CONCEDED TO A U.S. DEMAND FOR 1,200 ON MULTIPLE-WARHEAD MISSILES, RATHER THAN THE 1,250 CEILING IT SOUGHT.

18. IF THIS SUB-LIMIT HAD BEEN SET AT 1,250, THE  
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UNITED STATES WOULD HAVE BEEN RESTRICTED BY 50 IN THE NUMBERS OF AIRCRAFT IT COULD DEPLOY, ARMED WITH CRUISE MISSILES--UNLESS IT RETIRED INTERCONTINENTAL LAND OR SEA-BASED MISSILES. EACH AMERICAN B-52 WILL

CARRY 20 TO 25 OF THE TECHNOLOGICALLY ADVANCED CRUISE MISSILES, WHICH ARE SIMILAR TO A PILOTLESS DRONE AIRCRAFT, WITH RANGE PERMITTED UP TO 2,500 KILOMETERS, OR 1,550 MILES, UNDER THE PENDING NEGOTIATIONS.

19. CHAMPIONS OF THE NEW ACCORD THEREFORE CLAIM SATISFACTION WITH THE OUTCOME, EVEN THOUGH THE TOTAL ARMS CEILING IS HIGHER THAN THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION PREFERRED. THE UNITED STATES IS BELOW THE NUCLEAR ARMS CEILING OF 2,250 NOW SET--WHICH IS WHY THE ADMINISTRATION WOULD HAVE BEEN HAPPY TO SETTLE FOR 2,160, OR EVEN 2,000.

20. OFFICIALLY, THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION YESTERDAY DECLINED ANY SPECIFIC COMMENT ON ANY OF THESE NEW FIGURES. WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY JODY POWELL SAID IN DENVER, WHERE THE PRESIDENT WAS VISITING, THAT "THERE ARE STILL TOUGH PROBLEMS TO BE WORKED OUT."

20. HE SAID CARTER AND BREZHNEV MAY MEET IN WASHINGTON THIS SUMMER, BUT POWELL SAID THERE WILL BE A SUMMER MEETING ONLY "IF WE HAVE AN AGREEMENT OR ARE CLOSE TO ONE." CHRISTOPHER

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